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FM AMEMBASSY TAIPEI

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 7141

INFO AMEMBASSY MANILA

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AMEMBASSY TOKYO

AMCONSUL HONG KONG

USLO PEKING

CINCPAC HONOLULU HI

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CINCPAC FOR POLAD

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PINT, PFOR, MILI, EGEN, MNUC, TW, CH, US

SUBJECT: PREMIER CHIANG'S ADMINISTRATIVE REPORT OT THE LEGISLATIVE YUAN

REF: TAIPEI 6136

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1. BEGIN INTRODUCTION AND SUMMARY:

PREMIER CHIANG CHING-KUO'S SEPTEMBER 23 ADDRESS TO THE LEGISLATIVE YUAN, BASED IN PART ON HIS SEMI-ANNUAL WRITTEN AND "ORAL" ADMINISTRATIVE REPORT, CONTAINED FEW SURPRISES. RECURRENT THEMES IN HIS ADDRESS INCLUDED EMPHASIS ON INTERNAL UNITY, SELF-RELIANCE (WITH AN INTERESTING ASIDE ON THE GROC DECISION NOT TO CONFIDENTIAL

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PRODUCE NUCLEAR WEAPONS), AND ANTI-PRC REMARKS. HE ALSO REITERATED HIS EARLIER STATEMENT (SEE REFTEL) THAT THE ROC WILL NOT NEED US TROOPS IN THE DEFENSE OF TAIWAN." END SUMMARY

2. AFTER SPEAKING AT SOME LENGTH ON THE LOSS TO THE NATION

AS A RESULT OF PRESIDENT CHIANG KAI-SHEK'S DEMISE, PREMIER CHIANG CHING-KUO (CCK) TURNED HIS ATTENTION TO THE WORLD SITUATION AND ITS SIGNIFICANCE FOR THE GROC. NOTING THAT THE WORLD

SITUATION IS CHAOTIC, HE POINTED TO REPORTS OF DISUNITY
ON THE MAINLAND AND STRESSED THE NEED FOR UNITY ON TAIWAN. THE
ROOTS OF WORLD CHAOS, HE SAID, LIE IN THE CHINA ISSUE. ONLY
WHEN THE ROC SUCCEEDS IN RECAPTURING THE MAINLAND AND
RESTORING FREEDOM TO THE MAINLAND COMPATRIOTS WILL THE WORLD
AGAIN ENJOY PEACE.AT A LATER POINT HE ADDED, "THERE IS NO
TAIWAN ISSUE' BUT ONLY A CHINA ISSUE. ONCE THE CHINA ISSUE IS
SOLVED, THE SO-CALLED TAIWAN ISSUE WILL BE SOLVED AUTOMATICALLY."
3. CCK ALSO REITERATED ROC BASIC PRINCIPLES OF NOT COMPROMISING WITH THE PRC OR HOLDING PEACE TALKS WITH THE PRC AND OF
SIDING WITH THE DEMOCRATIC CAMP AND NOT ESTABLISHING CONTACTS
WITH THE USSR.

- 4. AFTER RETURNING TO THE THEME OF UNITY, CCK PLEDGED THAT HE WOULD ESTABLISH A SOCIETY WHICH IS FREE, DEMOCRATIC, AND RULE BY LAW. "THE TIME OF A NATION RULED BY MAN IS OVER. OUR GOVERNMENT WILL BE RULED BY LAW."
- 5. IN FOREIGN RELATIONS, THE PREMIER SAID, THE GUIDELINE IS THAT ALL COUNTRIES MUST RECOGNIZE THAT THE GROC IS THE ONLY LEGITIMATE GOVERNMENT OF CHINA. THE ROC UNITES WITH ALL DEMOCRATIC NATIONS TO RESIST COMMUNIST AGGRESSION AND HAS "REPEATEDLY TOLD THE ROK, JAPAN, AND THE US THAT IT SUPPORTS THE IDEA OF A NORTHEAST ASIAN DEFENSE LINK."
- 6. ON RELATIONS WITH THE US, CCK SAID: "THERE IS NO NEED FOR US TO TELL THE U.S. HOW DEMOCRATIC AND FREE THE ROC IS AND HOW TYRANNICAL

AND DICTATORIAL THE PRC IS BECAUSE THE US IS QUITE AWARE OF THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE TWO. HOWEVER, THE US MUST BE REMINDED OF ITS RESPONSIBILITY AS THE LEADER OF THE FREE WORLD AND ITS ROLE IN HISTORY. IT IS ON THE BASIS OF SUCH A RESPONSIBILITY CONFIDENTIAL.

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AND ROLE THAT THE US MUST NOT DO ANYTHING DETRIMENTAL TO THE INTERESTS OF THE ROC."

7. ON RELATIONS WITH COUNTRIES NOT RECOGNIZING THE ROC, CCK SAID THAT SUBSTANTIAL RELATIONS WITH SUCH COUNTRIES ARE EFFECTIVE IN CRUSHING "THE PRC'S CONSPIRACY OF ISOLATING THE ROC DIPLOMATICALLY." IN THAT CONTEXT, HE ANNOUNCED THE FORMATION OF A SIX-MAN COMMITTEE (INCLUDING FOREIGN MINISTER SHEN CHANG-HUAN, MINISTER-WITHOUT-PORTFOLIO CHOU SHU-KAI, ECONOMIC MINISTER SUN YUN-HSUAN, EDUCATION MINISTER CHIANG YEN-SHIH (Y. S. TSIANG), CHAIRMAN OF THE OVERSEAS CHINESE AFFAIRS COMMISSION MAO SUNGNIEN, AND GIO DIRECTOR TING MAO-SHIH), WHICH WILL DIRECT THE NATION'S OVERSEAS OPERATIONS.

8. TURNING TO DEFENSE, CCK SAID THAT SOME PEOPLE BELIEVE THAT THE PRC WILL NOT LAUNCH AN ATTACK ON TAIWAN BECAUSE (A) TAIWAN AND THE MAINLAND ARE SEPARATED BY A WIDE STRAIT, (B) THE PRC CANNOT AFFORD SUCH AN ATTACK SINCE THE INVADING FORCE WOULD HAVE TO BE SO MUCH LARGER THAN THE DEFENDING FORCE, AND (C) THE PRC DOES NOT WANT UNFAVORABLE INTERNATIONAL PROPAGANDA. WHILE SUCH AN ANALYSIS IS "NOT GROUNDLESS," HE SAID, NONETHELESS THE ROC MUST BUILD UP ITS OWN DEFENSE. "THE CHINESE COMMUNISTS FEAR ONLY STRENGTH."

9. AGAIN STRESSING THE THEME OF UNITY, HE NOTED THAT THE SIZE OF THE ARMED FORCES HAS BEEN GROWING. THE ROC, HE SAID, DOES NOT WHOLLY DEPEND ON THE US FOR THE SUPPLY OF EQUIPMENT AND FIRE POWER AND THE ROC WILL NOT NEED US TROOPS IN THE DEFENSE OF TAIWAN.

10. COMMENTING ON THE ROC'S ABILITY TO MANUFACTURE NUCLEAR WEAPONS, CCK SAID THAT THE ROC HAS BEEN ENGAGED IN RESEARCH ON NUCLEAR WEAPONS FOR 17 YEARS. LAST YEAR A SUGGESTION THAT THE ROC MANUFACTURE NUCLEAR WEAPONS WAS BROUGHT TO PRESIDENT CHIANG KAI-SHEK (CKS) FOR FINAL DECISION. CKS REJECTED THE IDEA BECAUSE "EITHER IN COUNTERATTACK OR IN THE DEFENSE OF TAIWAN, THE ENEMY FORCE WOULD BE COMPOSED OF CHINESE AND THE ROC WOULD NOT USE NUCLEAR WEAPONS AGAINST ITS OWN COMPATRIOTS."

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11. ON EDUCATION, THE PREMIER CONFIRMED REPORTS THAT DESPITE SHORTCOMINGS, THE JOINT COLLEGIATE ENTRANCE EXAMINATION SYSTEM WILL BE RETAINED, BUT THE YEARLY EXAMINATION FOR SELF-FINANCED STUDENTS FOR ADVANCED STUDY ABROAD WILL BE ABOLISHED NEXT YEAR.

12. ON ECONOMIC AFFAIRS, THE PREMIER SAID THAT THE GOVERNMENT CONTINUES TO ADHERE TO THE BASIC POLICY OF "SEEKING PROGRESS THROUGH STABILITY" AND UNDER THIS POLICY THE MAIN EFFORTS ARE DIRECTED AT MAINTENANCE OF PRICE STABILITY AND ASSISTING THE NATION'S INDUSTRIAL AND COMMERCIAL CIRCLES TO TIDE OVER THE CURRENT WORLDWIDE ECONOMIC CRISIS. HIS ANNOUNCEMENT THAT THE GROC HAS DECIDED AGAINST ISSUING NOTES OF LARGE DENOMINATIONS (NT500 OR ABOVE) DREW APPALUSE FROM HIS AUDIENCE. HE ALSO SAID THAT BY THE END OF 1977 MOST OF THE TEN MAJOR CONSTRUCTION PROJECTS WILL BE COMPLETED AND THAT THE GROC HAS BEGUN MAPPING OUT A NEW SIX-YEAR PLAN (1976-81). END LIMITED CONFIDENTIAL

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13. COMMENT: IN GENERAL, IT APPEARED THAT IN THIS ADDRESS, THE PREMIER, WHO ONLY INFREQUENTLY CONSULTED HIS PREPARED TEXT, SEEMED MORE SELF-CONFIDENT AND RELAXED THAN HE WAS IN PREVIOUS ADDRESSES TO THE LEGISLATIVE YUAN. AND HIS NEARLY TWO-HOUR ADDRESS, WHICH WAS FREQUENTLY INTERSPERSED WITH ANECDOTES (MANY OF WHICH WERE HUMOROUS), HELD THE INTEREST OF HIS AUDIENCE.

14. THE TEXT OF HIS ADDRESS, WHICH BORE LITTLE RESEMBLANCE IN FORM TO THE WRITTEN VERSION OF HIS "ORAL" REPORT (POUCHED TO THE DEPARTMENT), CONTAINED FEW SURPRISES ALTHOUGH HIS REMARKS ON RESEARCH ON NUCLEAR WEAPONS AND CKS'S DECISION AGAINST MANUFACTURE OF SUCH WEAPONS SUGGEST SOMEWHAT MORE INTEREST IN NUCLEAR WEAPONS THANPREVIOUSLY PUBLICLY ADMITTED. DESPITE CCK'S REMARKS, WE BELIEVE IT LIKELY THAT THE DECISION NOT TO MANUFACTURE NUCLEAR WEAPONS WAS MADE BY CCK HIMSELF RATHER THAN BY CKS, BUT THAT CCK SAW OBVIOUS ADVANTAGES IN ATTRIBUTING THE DECISION TO THE LATE PRESIDENT.

15. WE ARE ALSO INTRIGUED BY THE PREMIER'S COMMENTS ON RULE BY LAW VERSUS RULE BY MAN. IT IS, AS FAR AS WE ARE AWARE, THE ONLY PUBLIC STATEMENT CCK HAS MADE SUGGESTING THAT HE WILL DEPART FROM THE STYLE OF GOVERNMENT PREFERRED BY THE LATE CKS (BUT A DEPARTURE OFTEN SUGGESTED PRIVATELY BY THOSE IN AND OUT OF GOVERNMENT WHO FOLLOW POLITICAL TRENDS). UNGER

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